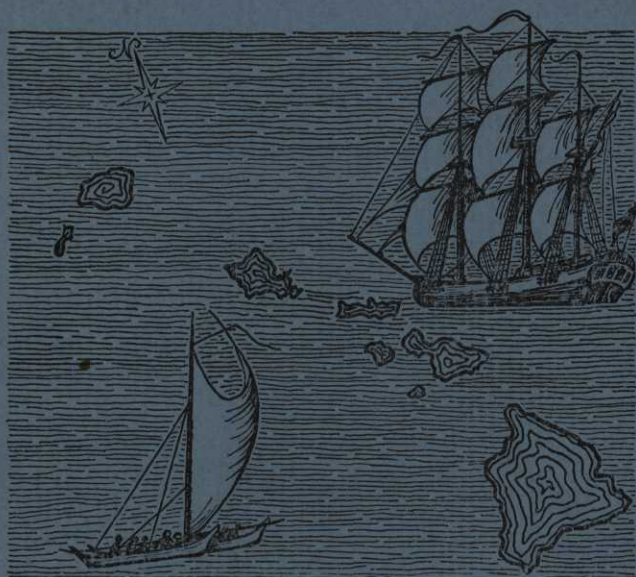


Sept. 1962

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY



SEVENTY-FIRST ANNUAL REPORT

FOR THE YEAR
1962

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**SEVENTY-FIRST
ANNUAL REPORT**

OF THE

**HAWAIIAN
HISTORICAL SOCIETY**

**FOR THE YEAR
1962**

**HONOLULU, HAWAII
PUBLISHED, 1963**

The scope of the Hawaiian Historical Society as specified in its charter is "the collection, study, preservation and publication of all material pertaining to the history of Hawaii, Polynesia and the Pacific area."

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THE LONGEST LEGISLATURE

by ALBERTINE LOOMIS*

In 1892—just as in 1962—Hawaii's legislature opened with fanfare.¹ As carriages rolled through the gates of Ali'iolani Hale, past the black-and-gold statue of the first Kamehameha, the Queen's Household Guards in battle array presented arms, and opposite them across the drive the Royal Hawaiian Band played one lively tune after another. Indoors there were kahilis and great bouquets of lilies. There were special seats for the dignitaries, and the throne at the makai end was draped with a golden feather cloak.

When the Queen's coach left Iolani Palace, a salute resounded from Punch-bowl, and when, drawn by a span of black horses, it arrived at Ali'iolani's entrance, the band swung majestically into "Hawai'i Pono'i."

This was Liliuokalani's first legislature, though she had been Queen a year and four months; for the sessions were biennial. It was also her last, and it was destined to become the longest on record—171 turbulent days from opening to prorogation.

With grace and spirit, Liliuokalani delivered the address her cabinet had prepared for her, touching upon the problems the nation faced and pledging herself to reign as a constitutional monarch and "firmly to endeavor to preserve the autonomy and . . . independence" of the kingdom.² In closing she invoked the blessing of Divine Providence upon the deliberations about to commence—and that was well. For never, perhaps, had a legislature more need of heaven's blessing than this one. The holiday mood was barely skin-deep, and below the surface were grave concern, shrewd calculations, passionate loyalties, smoldering resentments, feverish longings, and political antagonisms somewhat beyond the usual portion of such a body on its opening day.

There has never been anything else quite like those Hawaiian legislatures of the last years of the monarchy. In them sat men of different races and cultures, some of them born in distant corners of the globe, some Island-born of foreign parents, some of mixed blood, and some Hawaiian in every sense. Elected in their districts on the several islands, they were convened according to a written constitution that owed something to British, something to American tradition. Their deliberations were conducted in two languages and governed by the strictest parliamentary procedure.

Half of the forty-eight were Nobles, men of property (at least \$3,000

* Miss Loomis, a resident of Honolulu, is the author of *Grapes of Canaan*, Dodd, Mead & Co., N.Y., 1951.

worth), elected by men of property. The rest were Representatives, who need own only \$500 worth, but who must be able to read and write in Hawaiian, English, or some European language. Though the Nobles and Representatives were elected as different bodies, they sat together as one house, and their votes weighed equally in a decision.³

In the House of 1892 there were seventeen Hawaiians, eight part-Hawaiians—a few of them with Chinese blood—and twenty-three haoles. But this tally tells little, for political alignment was not strictly a matter of race. What was significant was the existence of three parties, no one of which was in control.

The Reform party, chiefly but not entirely haole (there were four staunchly loyal Hawaiians in it to the very end) had been born in the coup d'état of 1887, when a reluctant but frightened Kalakaua had granted a constitution that restricted his own powers and established cabinet government on the British model.

For three years the Reformers had been all-powerful in the government, but the election of 1890 had brought to the fore a new party, called National Reform, many of whose members left the old Reform ranks to oppose its persistent attempts to draw Hawaii closer to the United States.

The third party, the Liberals—largely but not exclusively composed of Hawaiians—had split off from the Nationals, charging that the second Reform party was as unrepresentative of Hawaiian interests as the first.

On opening day, neither the acknowledged head of the Reform party, Lorrin A. Thurston, nor the potent and colorful leader of the Liberals, Robert W. Wilcox, was on hand to take his seat in Ali'iolani Hale. Thurston was on the Mainland on a secret mission for the Annexation Club, and Wilcox was in jail.

To understand this somewhat extraordinary state of affairs it is necessary to go back to the campaign that preceded the election in February and also to speak of certain incidents that occurred between the election and the assembling of the legislature.

The first inklings of the Liberals' aspirations and platform had come from Robert Wilcox in the summer of 1891. While Liliuokalani as the new queen was still touring the Islands, receiving her people's homage and aloha, Wilcox—in California "for recreation" as he put it—began to give newspaper interviews. Once a protégé of Kalakaua's, later a promoter of the interests of Liliuokalani, this thirty-three-year-old part-Hawaiian apparently had become by 1891 somewhat disillusioned about monarchy.

"The sentiment for a republic is growing," Wilcox told a reporter from the *San Francisco Examiner* in July, 1891, "but we don't care to upset our

monarchical institutions so long as the crown is faithful to the majority of the people."⁴

A month later Wilcox was back in Honolulu, trying unsuccessfully to line up the Hui Kalai'aina (a Hawaiian political club) with his new party; and John E. Bush's weekly *Ka Leo o ka Labui* (*The Voice of the Nation*) was promoting the Liberal cause busily if somewhat erratically.

Unopposed—for the other two parties remained dormant—the Liberals named their candidates and increased the tempo of their campaigning, held regular meetings and sent orators to "enlighten the country people" as to the principles of the party and to preach the gospel of constitutional change—by either a convention or a revolution.⁵

Snatches of their oratory appeared almost daily in the *Bulletin* and the *Advertiser*. There was Bipikane, indulging in his favorite pun, the one on his own name: "This bullock before you is branded with our platform. I am going to gore the old constitution. . . . What is the use of a constitution that causes Hawaiians to be driven to the wall?"⁶

There was C. W. Ashford, who—a Reformer in 1887 but now a candidate on the Liberal ticket—seemed bent on scrapping the instrument he had once helped to draft. "The present constitution," he said, "was established by fraud and intimidation . . . it was simply a makeshift and is not adapted to present conditions. . . . It was unfair to the natives then and is still. . . . I resent and resist any attempt to make the property qualification permanent."⁷

Haole indifference almost gave the Liberals the election. Virtually the whole business community thought night and day in 1892 about the economic plight in which the United States' McKinley tariff (passed in October, 1890) had placed on Hawaii. The act, by admitting to the United States free of duty all foreign sugars and awarding a two-cents-a-pound bounty to domestic growers, had destroyed the value to Hawaii of the treaty of reciprocity. Hawaiian profits had vanished, and already Honolulu enterprises of all kinds reflected the depression. Planters sought cheaper labor; bankers grew cautious about loans; iron works failed; mechanics went unemployed. Yet most haoles believed that, given a stable, conservative, business-men's government, Hawaii could ride out the storm, particularly if her diplomatic representative in Washington could persuade a protectionist-minded administration there to revise and broaden the trade treaty, placing more items—especially preserved fruits—on the free list. Thus occupied, their eyes on Washington, the conservative citizens simply had refused to take the Liberals seriously. Then suddenly the prospects were appalling. All over Oahu Wilcox and his followers campaigned exuberantly. The other two parties had not even named candidates.

Lorrin A. Thurston called for a coalition. Let the Reformers swallow their

pride and unite with all who would stand for a free-trade treaty and against a constitutional convention.⁸ In response there was a last-minute attempt at a so-called citizens' ticket. But the National Reformers were not ready to follow Thurston's lead. They believed in the free-trade treaty, yes. But being for the most part British in nationality or heritage, they were emphatically against conceding anything at Pearl Harbor to get it. So belatedly they began their own campaign.⁹

Since the Liberals appeared to threaten the monarchy, and the Reformers to lay undue stress on rapport with the United States, the Nationals joyfully accepted the role of Palace party, of the Queen's devoted and loyal supporters. Accordingly on January 21, John Ena called on Liliuokalani to solicit a campaign contribution. She promised—so she noted in her private journal—one hundred dollars to help elect the party's candidates and one hundred toward reviving the Hawaiian newspaper, *Holomua*, and merging it with the *Elele Poakolu*. "They say I must for the good of the Public," Liliuokalani wrote. "But I think I hadn't ought to give any for the campaign because I would just be in politics or assisting it, which I should not do."¹⁰ But as election day came on, she could no more disregard the contest than a bettor at the race-track can ignore the horses.

On February 3, 1892, Hawaii first used the Australian secret ballot. In a cubicle where no earthly eye could penetrate, the voter marked down his x's with a fine sense of dignity and personal importance. He could, one citizen is said to have explained to another, take money from anyone who offered it and still vote just as he pleased.

When the returns were in, it was evident that no party would control the legislature. Still, the *Advertiser*, spokesman for the Reformers, was complacent. On February 10 it divided the entire roster of Nobles and Representatives into conservatives (35) and Liberals (13), saying:

*National Reformers and Reformers have been placed under the one head of Conservatives, because the party of the future . . . must be broad enough to include all, no matter what their previous political faith, who can unite for progress and for preservation against the Party of Anarchy.*¹¹

But the Liberals were not content with the role of minority. As soon as the results were known, Wilcox shouted, "Fraud!" He said the heading on the bilingual ballot had not been properly printed. The Supreme Court would be asked to declare the election void.¹²

However, in the middle of April the Liberal leaders reported at a meeting that the court had ruled against them. Bipikane, with his best imitation of a roaring bull, cried, "We must fight." Robert Wilcox spoke with sober indignation: "The government . . . is rotten. In America every citizen is a

sovereign. . . ."¹³ At the next meeting he was more explicit. "If we have only twenty-five brave men, . . . Hawaii will rise again. . . . We can divide Hawaii into four states and call them the United States of Hawaii. Who should be our first president?" From the audience came the ready answer, "Wilcox!" Robert indicated that when the time came, he would be a willing candidate.¹⁴

There was nothing secret about these Liberal gatherings. Reporters from both haole and Hawaiian newspapers were there, taking notes as fast as their pencils would fly. But about March 1 rumors began to circulate that Robert Wilcox and V. V. Ashford—brother of C. W. and like him once a Reformer—were holding secret meetings and laying plans to overthrow the monarchy.

At the palace Marshal Charles B. Wilson's spies brought him reports of what was said behind locked doors at Ashford's on Kinau Street, at Bipikane's on Kuakini, or in a vacant house near Bush's in Printer's Lane. Detective Nawaakoa, one of the informers, joined the league on April 10 and immediately gained a seat on the central committee.¹⁵

On one occasion, so this spy reported, Ashford, in the chair, asked Wilcox to explain the purpose of the league. "We are not receiving justice in the present management of affairs," Robert said. "From the Marshal we cannot expect or receive justice. We, the people of the land, are oppressed under the present form of affairs. Equal rights we must have, and will have even if we have to use force."¹⁶ Wilcox, it seems, blamed the Marshal rather than the Queen for what was wrong.

Liliuokalani, meanwhile, was making her own appraisal of the newly-elected legislature, and, unlike the *Advertiser*, she found no reason to be complacent. Counting both Liberals and Reformers as her political foes, she saw that, should they unite, they could overrule her party easily. If testimony given by V. V. Ashford a year later is to be believed, it was now that Liliuokalani began seriously to consider repudiating the Constitution of 1887 and proclaiming a new one. If she could do so immediately, she could, of course, invalidate the returns of February 3, give herself the right to appoint the entire upper house (twenty-four nobles), and at the same stroke win back many, if not all, of her native subjects who had followed after Robert Wilcox because he promised a constitution to their liking.

To gain the support of the Hui Kalai'aina—the Hawaiian political society that Robert Wilcox had failed to win over—and to enlarge its membership, the Queen, through Charles B. Wilson, her Marshal; Samuel Nowlein, commander of her Household Guards; and Joseph Nawahi, a Representative-elect from Hilo, let it be known that her people need not revolt against her in order to get what they wanted. But by the first of May, Wilson was warning

that some of the new members of the Hui were of dubious loyalty—that, in fact, they probably were Wilcox's counterspies.

On the morning of May 19 the Marshal decided to force a showdown. He sent two messengers to request Wilcox to come to the palace immediately to consult with Her Majesty about a constitution. Caught off guard, Wilcox tried to gain time. The Marshal's men stood firm; the interview grew quarrelsome; in the end Wilcox sent a defiant refusal. At once warrants were issued for arrests.¹⁷

By noon on the twentieth, seventeen of the league leaders were in jail, including Bipikane, who went roaring down the gangway to his cell, then called for a rocking chair in which to sit out his detention. The preliminary examination of the prisoners began at once as the government undertook to discover which, to save themselves, would turn state's evidence.

In the end Judge Dole dismissed the charges against most of the defendants and bound over only six for trial before a jury. Only those were held who had been present at the league meeting of May 8, when for the first time, the evidence seemed to show, there had been unmistakable talk of using arms to overthrow the monarchy. Robert Wilcox was one of these. V. V. Ashford was set free; he had been in Hilo on May 8.

The crown proposed immediately to rearrest Ashford and several of the others, this time charging conspiracy rather than treason, but, on advice of British Commissioner Wodehouse, agreed presently to let Colonel Ashford remain free if he would leave the kingdom. Liliuokalani was annoyed. She wrote in her diary: "Had news of V. V. Ashford's release, & they say they could make no case of it. It looks very suspicious. . . ."¹⁸

On June 25 Chief Justice Judd, on information from Attorney-General Whiting that he declined to prosecute, released the six who had been committed,¹⁹ and, almost a month later, Robert Wilcox took his place in the House, obviously no fonder than before of the Queen and Marshal Wilson.

The other absentee from the legislature when it opened, Lorrin A. Thurston, missed only the first few days of the session. He landed on June 4, his mission accomplished. Ostensibly on a trip to Chicago to arrange for Hawaii's exhibit at the World's Fair, Thurston, as he himself revealed in later years, had gone on to Washington to discover what attitude the United States would take if Hawaii were to seek annexation.²⁰ It was, of course, more than an idle query.

Since the election in February persistent rumors had held that the Queen was preparing a constitution to replace that of 1887 and might proclaim it at any time. Accordingly a dozen men met in Lorrin Thurston's office to face the question: If Liliuokalani attempts to subvert the constitution of 1887, what do we intend to do about it? The unanimous answer was: Oppose her!

If the Queen made such a move, they agreed, annexation to the United States would be Hawaii's only salvation from absolutism or anarchy. But what would the United States say if Hawaii came knocking at her door? The Annexation Club wanted to know. So Lorrin Thurston set out for Washington.

"... if conditions in Hawaii compel you people to act as you have indicated, and you come to Washington with an annexation proposition, you will find an exceedingly sympathetic administration here."²¹ This is the message Lorrin Thurston brought when he arrived home on June 4. He had not seen President Benjamin Harrison, but he had talked with Senator Cushman K. Davis, a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations; with Representative James H. Blount, chairman of the Committee of Foreign Affairs; with Secretary of the Navy B. F. Tracy; and with Secretary of State James G. Blaine. It was Tracy who had brought him the encouraging message from the President.

Secretary Blaine was ill and unable to keep a second appointment he had made with Thurston. To that fact history owes the seven-page letter, dated San Francisco, May 27, 1892, in which Thurston, on his way home, spelled out his thoughts about annexation.²²

Stable government, Thurston told Blaine, was the foremost desire of the "substantial people having at heart the permanent welfare and progress of the islands." And stable government could not be had under a native monarchy; in fact, it could be had only by "union in some form with the United States or England." "Every interest," he wrote, "political, commercial, financial and previous friendship points in the direction of the United States; but . . . a union with England would be preferable to a continuance under existing circumstances."

Thurston then outlined the means he thought could be used to bring matters to a head, provided the United States were in a responsive mood. In winning over the common natives, he predicted there would be no great difficulty. Some of their leaders already favored annexation—in part because they were out of favor with the Queen, and in part because under annexation they anticipated that manhood suffrage would replace the existing property suffrage. "By working through these leaders and . . . by holding out to the common people the hope of economic betterment as a result of annexation," Thurston believed a majority of the natives could be won over.

In the course of the next few months he hoped to secure the appointment at the Islands of a cabinet "committed to annexation," proceed with the "education" of the people, win "the adhesion of as many native leaders as possible," and have the legislature adjourn in August or September instead of being prorogued. This maneuver would allow the House to reconvene on

its own volition without being called into extra session by the Queen. Then, when the time was ripe—perhaps in December when the American Congress had expressed itself in favor of annexation—Thurston proposed either to submit the question to the people in a general election or to take action in the reassembled legislature.

Long afterward in writing about the Annexation Club of 1892, Thurston said, "Our object was not to promote annexation, but to be ready to act quickly and intelligently, should Liliuokalani precipitate the necessity by some move against the constitution, tending to revert to absolutism or anything of that nature."²³ By the time he wrote these words he doubtless had forgotten the plan of action he had outlined to Secretary Blaine—a plan no important detail of which he was able to carry out. So little did this kamaaina, born and bred in the Islands, understand the hearts of the Hawaiians, and so firmly did he believe that union with the United States was Hawaii's destiny and a priceless privilege, that a bit of encouragement in Washington had sent him off into a dream-world, where peaceful change, motivated by "hope of economic betterment," and accomplished with general good will, would solve everything.

Thurston's dream must have faded quickly after his return. Certainly by the end of summer it was blurred beyond recognition.²⁴ But while the details of his plan lay forgotten in State Department files, the object of the trip to Washington was no secret from any of the interested parties in Honolulu. And Liliuokalani, though no longer threatened by a Wilcox-Ashford uprising, could face the new legislative session with equanimity only if her party, the Nationals, could maintain firm control.

For one thing, she must, or thought she must, keep Marshal Charles B. Wilson in office.²⁵ In command of the police and the military, Wilson was a sure and potent ally against any force that might endanger the throne—in Liliuokalani's view an essential ally. Yet the Marshal held his appointive position under the attorney-general, and by that cabinet officer he could be dismissed. Reduced to its simplest terms, then, the Queen's problem for the duration of the session was to keep Attorney-General Whiting in office or, if necessary, to replace him with a man who would promise to continue Wilson as marshal.

Unfortunately Wilson had enemies—among the Liberals, who resented his influence on the Queen and hated him for the arrests in May, and among the Reformers, who accused him of incompetence and corruption, of dealing illicitly with opium smugglers and gamblers.

The point is crucial. To retain Wilson as marshal, the Queen must keep or place in office an attorney-general who would not dismiss him; to insure

having such an attorney-general, she must control the make-up of the cabinet; and to control the make-up of the cabinet, she must dominate the legislature, since the House had power through a want-of-confidence vote to dismiss any cabinet she might appoint.

There was, of course, another problem. Strange as it sounds in retrospect, Liliuokalani seems never to have doubted that to promulgate a new constitution she must have the signatures of the ministers appointed under the old one—at least a majority of them. Besides saving the Marshal from dismissal, then, the Queen's long-term purposes dictated that she must always have a cabinet favorable to her particular brand of constitutional change. Thus Liliuokalani, who had felt qualms in January about getting into politics, found herself in June deeply and vitally involved. Thus the Queen who might have kept her crown indefinitely if she had been content to reign as a constitutional monarch—a ceremonial and symbolic personage rather than a ruler—was by disposition and circumstance impelled toward a power struggle with the legislature, a struggle she was to win.

That she won only to lose desperately and irretrievably on the afternoon of January 14, when the legislature had been prorogued, is not a part of this story, though it is what gives poignancy and significance to any account of that last, long legislature of 1892.

Back now to the early days of the session, when controversial bills were dropped into the hopper, assigned to committees, and blissfully forgotten. There was time then for repartee and wit and word-play. In all of these the Hawaiians, as we know, were skillful. But so were such haoles as Lorrin Thurston, C. W. Ashford, and Paul Neumann, so that no party had a corner on fun or laughter. Nevertheless, something significant was happening. All through June—while Robert Wilcox still was detained in the Station House—a new leader, Joseph Nawahi, was drawing Hawaiian members away from their Liberal allegiance. The bait he used was race consciousness. Let all Hawaiians stand together in the party of their Queen and there was hope of defeating the “annexationist” haoles.²⁶

Robert Wilcox, as soon as he was out of jail, saw clearly that to reinstate himself in a position of leadership he must find new allies, with whose aid he might hope to climb to a place in the cabinet. His first act was to make, on the Pearl Harbor question, a speech that sounded like so many pages out of Lorrin Thurston's book. His next was to defend the Constitution of 1887, so lately the object of Liberal invective. Then, while the whole legislature—Hawaiian and haole alike—stood amazed at these bold strokes, Wilcox on July 13 moved “want of confidence” in the Parker cabinet, the one Liliuokalani had appointed at her accession.

A *Bulletin* editorial asserted, no doubt correctly, that Mr. Wilcox must be under some misapprehension as to the workings of cabinet government in the British tradition. He seemed to assume that, if his motion carried, he would be the one called on to form the next cabinet. "Such," said the editor, "is not the practice in England. . . . The proper person to be summoned . . . is a leader who can command a majority in the Legislature . . . ; self appointed leaders may move resolutions of want of confidence until . . . they get black in the face, but work in this very congenial line . . . will not give them any claim to be called to form a ministry or become Ministers themselves."²⁷

Now it is true that the Parker cabinet had lost much of its one-time popularity. Even so, Robert Wilcox did not find the legislators rallying to his motion. Instead, Reformers and Nationals alike spoke vehemently against dismissal; and, after brief debate, the House decisively tabled the Wilcox motion. About the same time, on the day when it was to have been debated, Robert Wilcox withdrew his Pearl Harbor proposal. Evidently he had decided to make haste more slowly.

But though the Parker ministry had survived, the Attorney-General was still under fire. Usually affable W. A. Whiting glowered as critics tore into his report on the marshal's department. For the more than 17,000 arrests and the more than 13,000 convictions since he took office, Charles B. Wilson was blaming the laws. Desertion of contract by laborers, drunkenness, opium smuggling, and gambling he described as "offenses created by statute, upon the commission of which the moral sense of the community apparently casts but little stigma."²⁸

A howl of indignation rose in the House and echoed through the town. "Does Mr. Wilson," the *Advertiser* asked, "wish the public, whom he serves, to understand that gambling has become open, public, notorious, and all but universal . . . because it is right enough in itself but is simply forbidden by law . . . ?"²⁹

The collapse of Mr. Whiting's arm chair, seeming to presage his fall from office, was hailed by the legislators with customary good humor; but though a new seat was promptly put in place, it remained unoccupied while the discussion of the report continued. On July 27 Liliuokalani accepted the Attorney-General's resignation.

It took a full month for the palace party to find a man both acceptable to the Queen and brash enough to join a cabinet that was increasingly insecure. Not until the end of August was Paul Neumann's appointment announced. He served thirty-six hours before a coalition of indignant Liberals, outraged Reformers, and acquiescent Nationals voted the ministers out, 31 to 10.

That same day—August 30—Representative White, of Lahaina, introduced a bill to grant a franchise to the newly organized Hawaiian Lottery Company.

If Liliuokalani ever had stood a chance of avoiding political entanglements, that chance went glimmering when the lottery promoters moved in. The lottery story is the strangest of all those connected with the last days of the monarchy, and much of it is recorded only, so far as I know, in Liliuokalani's private diary, written in a handsome leatherbound book, now preserved at the Bishop Museum. The story begins back on the night of Her Majesty's ball for the members of the Legislature, July 7, 1892, after the dancing was over—the lancers, waltzes, polkas, gallops, and a minuet—and the "tasty and bounteous supper" had been served in the state dining-room.³⁰

1:30 [says the diary] *I retired to my room. Two o'clock Miss W_____ brought her cards.*

This is not the first time the journal speaks of the Queen's German teacher, Fraulein Wolf, who by shuffling and drawing from the pack could read the past and predict the future, but it is the first time the "medium's" cards revealed anything about the lottery.

She told me [that] at ten next morning [that would be July 8, the day the entry was written] a gentleman will call on me with a bundle of papers where it would bring lots of money across the water. . . . She says I must have the House accept it, it would bring \$1,000,000.

Fraulein's cards went farther. They advised the Queen about cabinet-making, although the Parker ministry was then still in office and bade fair to remain so for some time. Fraulein indicated a number of men by their initials, leaving the Queen to identify them. Three of these Liliuokalani was not to appoint; they wanted to snatch the crown from her head. From among five others four might be selected.

. . . they will make a good Cabinet [the entry continues, quoting Fraulein] but you are going to appoint and the house will reject, you send down again and they refuse, but you must be firm, after that everything will be alright.

3:30 a.m. [the diary goes on] *I retire and Miss Wolf [this time Fraulein's name is written in full] goes home. . . . Woke at 8—Miss W_____ came at 9—till 10. When she felt that the man was in the house I sent her home. 10:25—sure enough—the man came up with bundle of papers and spoke of lottery. How strange she should have told me.*

According to the leatherbound book, the man's initials were T. E. E. Identify him if you can. The diary never did. He had come in behalf of those who sought a lottery franchise. The Queen told him to send her a copy of their proposal. "I wonder how all will end," she concluded the July 8 entry.

After that there were frequent sessions with "the little lady," as Liliuok-

kalani often called her. Political advice came mixed with bits about a Dominis fortune, waiting in Austria to be claimed, and with numerous trifles about the Queen's friends and associates. "I believe her predictions," Liliuokalani wrote on August 16, "for all she has told has proved true."

As Mr. T. E. E. explained it, the lottery scheme appeared to be a most benevolent one. In return for the franchise, the company proposed to pay the Hawaiian government \$500,000 each for railroads on Oahu, railroads on Hawaii and harbor improvement; \$175,000 for roads, bridges, and wharves; \$50,000 for the encouragement of industries; \$25,000 for the encouragement of tourist travel and immigration.³¹ Here, it seemed, would be an answer to many of Hawaii's financial problems—an answer that would make the government largely independent of local bankers and taxpayers.

Meanwhile the question of a successor to Attorney-General Whiting remained unanswered, while Minister of Finance Widemann performed "the acrobatic feat"—as the *Advertiser* called it—of occupying two cabinet seats at once.³²

Let us return to the diary to see how these matters were arranged.

Aug. 27. . . . Mr. E. will call at 10:30 tomorrow. What he proposes [I am] to accept. He will say that I should say to them, I would not nominate Mr. N. until you all vote for this H. L. Bill and they will promise to.

Aug. 28. . . . 10:30 A.M. Mr. E. did call as she said, and he did suggest all that she predicted he would. He had been working very hard.

Aug. 29. . . . 10 A.M. Mr. Parker and Mr. Spencer both came in. I told them I would only accept Mr. Neumann as A.G. on certain conditions—and they consented. The H. L. Bill will be brought in by Mr. W. White. Mr. E. came in all worn out. I told him not to trouble himself any more that it will end all right.

At the opening of the Legislature Liliuokalani had faced the problem of keeping in office a cabinet that would protect Marshal Wilson in his job and approve a new constitution when the time came. Now, influenced by what seemed to her supernatural guidance, she had taken on the added burden of maintaining in power a cabinet favorable to the lottery. Yet there was fierce and fervent opposition to the lottery, in the House and in the community. No wonder the Queen braced herself to appoint and let the House reject, to send down again and let them refuse, until in the end they gave up and allowed her to have her way. At least that is what Fraulein's cards had said would happen.

At this point—the end of August, 1892, when the Parker cabinet had been voted out and Bill White of Lahaina had just introduced the lottery bill—to the bewilderment and regret of those who seek to follow these

tangled strands, Liliuokalani stopped keeping her diary. Blank pages stretch from here to the end of the calendar year. Not until January 17, 1893, the day when the monarchy was ended forever, did she begin again—in a new book. Why? The question is as useless as it is tantalizing. But certainly history is the poorer for want of the Queen's personal view of the tempestuous days from September 1, 1892, to January 14, 1893, when, flushed with victory in the parliamentary struggle, she dared too much.

The Parker cabinet was out, 31 to 10. Among the thirty-one were such "annexationists" as Thurston and W. O. Smith, such moderate Reformers as H. P. Baldwin and George N. Wilcox (no relation to Robert); such conservatives of Hawaiian blood as Waipuilani and Kauhane; such Liberals as Robert Wilcox and John E. Bush; and such National Reformers as Arthur Peterson and E. C. Macfarlane. The Opposition held together long enough to send three names to the Queen, saying they would accept a cabinet formed by any one of these. Liliuokalani, ignoring the suggestions, answered that she had entrusted the task to "one of her friends." The friend was Arthur Peterson.

Never was there a more thankless undertaking. The handsome majority that had joined to destroy proved incapable of building. The coalition rapidly dissolved into chaos. Reformers would not agree to go into a cabinet with Nationals; Nationals would not accept either Wilcox or Bush, so lately the Queen's bitter enemies; lottery candidates would not join anti-lottery zealots; Liliuokalani placed her personal requirements above any so-called parliamentary principle; and the Reformers, led on by Lorrin Thurston, were ready to fight it out on the line they had drawn if it took forever.

Peterson gave up, and E. C. Macfarlane wrestled with the problem. At last on September 14 he presented his handiwork to the House: himself as premier and minister of finance, Paul Neumann as attorney-general, Samuel Parker and Charles T. Gulick in the other positions. Few legislators were satisfied; many were violently displeased, for Macfarlane had not submitted his slate to the caucus for approval. For this omission one can hardly blame him, since the caucus had split into half a dozen hostile factions. But the Reformers did blame him, and their want-of-confidence motion came after only three days. The vote went 24 to 21 against the new ministry.

The twenty-four were jubilant. Since successors to Macfarlane and Neumann as Nobles had not yet been elected, the House membership stood at only forty-six; twenty-four was a clear majority. But House President J. S. Walker announced that the resolution had failed. He must take the ground, he said, that twenty-five votes—one more than half of the full legal membership—were needed to dismiss the ministers.

Reformers and Liberals all over the chamber leaped up to protest. Noble

Thurston demanded the floor on a question of privilege. Noble Peterson moved to adjourn. Mr. Neumann rose to a point of order. Representative Ashford shouted that regardless of the technicality, the ministers ought to resign. Again Mr. Neumann rose to a point of order. Would the president kindly put Noble Peterson's motion to adjourn.

President Walker called for the ayes, but the spectators, shouting and applauding, so compounded the confusion that he could neither hear nor be heard. He then asked the clerk whether a quorum was still present. No, said the clerk, counting as well as he could with everyone on his feet and moving about. No, there was certainly not a quorum. So the president declared the session adjourned. The newly named ministers still held their posts, and the Supreme Court in due time confirmed the president's interpretation. Twenty-five votes would have been needed to oust them.

With the life of the Macfarlane cabinet hanging by a thread, the legislature tried to settle down to business. And certainly there was need for accomplishment. But for a while a lion's share of attention went to the by-election to fill the seats vacated by Neumann and Macfarlane when they moved into the cabinet. On October 4 candidates supported by the Palace party, joined by the Nawahi section of the Liberals, defeated those backed by the Reformers and by Robert Wilcox's few remaining followers.

The lottery had been an issue in the campaign, and the lottery men had won decisively. Yet, coming up for its first reading, the bill did not rouse much support. Its opponents decided that there was nothing to worry about.³³ As to the cabinet, the *Advertiser* thought it "not reposing on a bed of roses" . . . "Already there is muttering and dissatisfaction among those who desire a change in the Marshal's office," wrote the editor. "Verily the Cabinet is seated on a Volcano."³⁴

The volcano erupted on October 17, Waipuilani, a member of the Reform party, moved want of confidence. The House had given the cabinet a month to show what it would do, he said, and it had done nothing.

To an evening session spectators thronged as if to a show. And indeed a debate in the House held more excitement and drama than most of the offerings at the Music Hall. At 10:15 the want-of-confidence resolution carried, 31 to 15.

Sereno E. Bishop, an informed observer though not a member of the House, wrote to an American friend how it had happened:

. . . the native members, who have been the uncertain element, have undergone a very wholesome education since they meekly yielded and permitted the new Cabinet to remain in, last month. . . they are now very resolute, and will stand

*no more nonsense. They certainly kept their secret well, during last week, when they were organizing their movement. . . .*³⁵

For the moment at least, the Queen and her party had lost the support of most of the Hawaiians. Even Joseph Nawahi had voted against the cabinet. The last act of Finance Minister Macfarlane before surrendering his portfolio was to fire Assessor C. A. Brown, who was said to have been the prime mover in rounding up the native legislators to vote against the ministry.³⁶

Once more Liliuokalani faced the task of selecting a cabinet that would serve her interests yet satisfy a militant majority. This time the contest of wills lasted three weeks. The Queen had no intention of bowing to the Reformers' "principle," which many of her closest friends assured her had not a shred of validity. But it was not easy to find anyone, either in or out of the legislature, willing to go before that body with a cabinet of her choosing.

At the end of October Joseph Nawahi was willing to try. But when he led in William Cornwell, Charles T. Gulick, and Robert Creighton to take the long-vacant chairs, a buzz of protest ran through the chamber, and a want-of-confidence resolution followed immediately. There were no whereases this time; none were needed. It was not what the cabinet had done or left undone; it was that they were clearly the Queen's personal choices, responsible to her, not to the legislature. By noon they were out. By a vote of 26 to 13 they went down in history as the Nancy Hanks cabinet, named for the horse that lately had broken the world's trotting record. They had finished the course in just over two hours.³⁷

The struggle went on. Until they had a cabinet they could approve, the majority would not permit other business to be done in the House. Government employees went unpaid and a hopperful of bills waited, while each day the legislature met only to adjourn.

British Minister Wodehouse watched with misgivings. Though he had argued that the Queen was within her rights in naming her personal favorites to a cabinet, he now sought to effect a compromise. What he feared, his dispatches to London show, was that the Queen's obstinacy would provoke an outbreak and give American Minister Stevens an excuse to intervene with troops from the USS *Boston*. Wodehouse was a good deal relieved, therefore, when on the fourth of November Her Majesty invited him to call and talk over some appointments she had in mind. He approved heartily of her choices: G. N. Wilcox, premier and minister of the interior; Peter C. Jones, minister of finance; Mark Robinson, minister of foreign affairs; Cecil Brown, attorney-general. "They are men of weight and influence in the community," Wodehouse wrote to his government, "and will be acceptable to the 'moderate'

men of all parties." He noted with pleasure that Robinson, part-Hawaiian, and Brown were both the sons of British subjects.³⁸

Presentation of the G. N. Wilcox cabinet to the House on the morning of November 8 released a flood of jubilation. Here, said the Reformers, was "a strong ministry, selected in accord with strictly constitutional methods." They commended the Queen for "recognizing the precedents which govern the conduct of all constitutional monarchies," and freely predicted that this cabinet would survive for at least two years.³⁹

The Liberals were more restrained. Their co-operation with the Reformers still had borne them no ministerial fruit. In caucus they agreed to support the new cabinet if with reasonable dispatch it cleaned house in the marshal's department. Somewhat reproachfully, though, they pointed out that the "principle" had been evaded. A leading member of the Opposition in the House had not formed the cabinet. Cecil Brown, a non-member, had been the first man summoned to the palace.⁴⁰ What promises had the new Attorney-General made about the Marshal?

The *Bulletin*, spokesman for the Palace party, would not admit that the Queen had conceded anything. No "principle" had been involved. Her Majesty simply had exercised her right to appoint a cabinet of her own choosing. But the editor agreed that it was indeed an excellent cabinet.

And what of Liliuokalani? Since she no longer kept a diary, we cannot know whether she acknowledged temporary defeat, or was only buying herself a little time in which to break up the obnoxious majority by detaching the Hawaiian members. She was not without resources for luring them away. If, as came to be suspected in the long run, she had exacted from the Attorney-General a promise not to dismiss Wilson, Brown's failure to act could be counted on to turn all the Liberals, including Wilcox and Bush, against the cabinet. The *Advertiser* did not mince words on this point. "The duty of the Reform party is now to insist upon the prompt dismissal of the Marshal," wrote Editor Henry Castle on November 10. "If the Marshal is permitted to remain in office, it will be said that the Reform party has made use of the Liberals just as long as it found them useful, and then has dropped them."⁴¹

But when on November 14 Premier G. N. Wilcox read before the House a statement of cabinet policy, there were no ringing words about purifying the public service. Many wondered: Were the ministers free or had they given a pledge to Liliuokalani?

Perhaps the Queen needed only to bide her time, but time was running out. Under the new cabinet the Legislature had come alive. Work on the appropriation bill, difficult as it was in a year of depression and reduced income, was proceeding rapidly. Evening sessions were hastening the day of

prorogation. It began to look as if the lottery bill would die in committee, and the G. N. Wilcox cabinet would live on, forestalling constitutional change.

Yet surely, though perhaps too slowly for the Queen's purposes, the Liberal-Reform alliance was cracking. Debate on a constitutional convention bill, which was finally tabled, 24 to 17,⁴² ruffled Liberal feelings and gave Robert Wilcox occasion to present a long list of old grievances. An acrid discussion of the Horner Banking act⁴³ widened the rift between haoles, who considered its fiat money proposals ridiculous, and Hawaiians, who thought it would make life easier for them. Once when someone mentioned the lottery bill, Noble D. W. Pua expostulated: "The Government has been run on a moral and holy plan long enough. Let us try some of the schemes got up by the devil and see how they work."⁴⁴

Above all, the passage of an opium-licensing act cost the Reform party much of its moral prestige. The question of licensing vs. prohibition was, of course, one on which men of good will could differ honestly. But in this session the question of opium control was tied inescapably to Marshal Wilson. If the Marshal was really in league with smugglers, as so often was charged, then no wonder all attempts to suppress the traffic had failed. So said the Liberals. Put a man in office who would do his duty, they cried, and licensing would not be necessary.

Yet three members of the Wilcox-Jones cabinet and several other Reform party members voted for licensing. "Till then," wrote Sereno Bishop, "the Reform party was felt to be a party of honor & conscience. . . . In that opium voting, many of the Reform Party 'gave place to the Devil,' & he used them up."⁴⁵

Angriest Liberal of them all, perhaps, was John E. Bush, who recently had become a Seventh Day Adventist and was now rabidly anti-opium.⁴⁶ As soon as the licensing bill had cleared, he brought in a want-of-confidence motion against the cabinet, but could muster only nineteen votes for dismissal. Twenty-five were needed.

Cheerfully the *Advertiser* remarked, "The cloud-burst has passed and hurt nobody, and the Cabinet is safe. . . . The whole country is to be congratulated."⁴⁷

Prorogation had been set for Saturday, January 14. On January 10 the lottery bill was called up and passed its second reading, 20 to 17, even with some of the Queen's men absent. The outcome was now inevitable. Seeing this, Reformers Thurston and W. O. Smith led the fight to incorporate safeguards against default or chicanery by the promoters. Next day the final vote on the amended bill was ayes 23, noes 20. The Liberals were shifting to the Queen's side.

But though twenty-three votes were enough to pass a bill, now that several Reform members had left for their homes, it would take, as the Supreme Court had ruled, twenty-five to put out the cabinet. To clear the way for promulgation of a new constitution, which the Wilcox-Jones ministry certainly would not allow, the Queen and her supporters must, in one way or another, persuade two more House members to change sides.

Twenty-four hours later the two had been won over. There were plenty of rumors as to how it had been done. Waipuilani, Iosepa, Kauhane, and Kauhi—the four Hawaiians who refused to desert the Reform party—were said to have been offered—and to have turned down—large bribes.⁴⁸ Lucien Young, an officer on the USS *Boston*, later described in his book, *The Real Hawaii*, a meeting in the suburbs of Honolulu in which, under the auspices of an unnamed Irishman, food and drink, persuasion and hard cash were used to open the eyes of Hawaiian members to their “true interests.”⁴⁹

A Reformer wrote afterwards that the Queen had “gone down on her knees” to one Hawaiian.⁵⁰ She is said to have placed ilima leis around the shoulders of those who were to make and second the want-of-confidence motion.⁵¹ It was widely believed that a haole’s vote had been won by the promise that his father-in-law would be called on to form the next cabinet.⁵² Whether any of this is more authentic than the counter-charges that the Reformers had used bribery to keep this same cabinet in office on January 4, it is difficult to say. But whatever the means, whoever the agents, the necessary votes were lined up. At the afternoon session on January 12 Representative Kapahu’s want-of-confidence resolution against the Wilcox-Jones cabinet carried, 25 to 16.

One part of the debate is worth noting. Both Robert Wilcox and John E. Bush reminded the Reformers bitterly that the cabinet had not been formed according to the “principle.” “If my own brother were in that cabinet,” Robert Wilcox declared, “I would vote him out if he were put in in violation of a principle.”⁵³ So the “principle” the Reformers had defended so long and so tenaciously against the Queen now played its part in their undoing.

By 2:40 p.m. it was all over. The cabinet was out, and the House had adjourned. Liliuokalani had won everything. She still had her trusted Marshal. She had the lottery that would, she believed, enrich Hawaii. She had ready for appointment a cabinet of her own choosing, men whom she could count on to support her policies. All that remained was to keep her promise to her native subjects and grant the new constitution they had prayed for—a constitution that would, by restoring to the crown some of its former prerogatives, increase the political power of the Hawaiians and clip the wings of the haoles.

Liliuokalani must have known that the step she planned involved great

risk. When she confided her intentions to the Marshal, he begged her to wait. And when she proposed to the new cabinet that they endorse the instrument she had ready, they demurred, even though their only excuse for being was to sanction her every move. They counseled caution, delay. But when the stage is set, it is not easy to postpone the performance.

Prorogation was at noon, January 14. Afterward, as the spectators began to come from Ali'iolani Hale, the crowd moved slowly across into the palace yard, where the band was playing and the Queen's troops in uniform lined the main walk to Iolani's front entrance.

Suddenly a parade formed. The men, marching two and two, wore evening dress with tall hats, and their badges and banners proclaimed them the Hui Kalai'aina. Their leader carried a large flat package, suspended from his shoulders by white ribbon. This was Hawaii's new constitution. The Hui was about to go through the formality of asking the Queen to promulgate it. In the throne room they stood near the dais where the Queen was expected to seat herself. Alapai, their president, unrolled the script of his speech. Members of the outgoing legislature and other notables fell quickly into their usual places. Hawaiians filled the corridors and the grounds. But the Queen did not come.

In the Blue Room, where she had called her ministers to insist that they endorse the new constitution, she was meeting only obstinate refusals. She did not know until months afterward that her cabinet already had conferred with leading Reformers, who had promised to support them in their stand. She was amazed and angered that they did not sign; but she would not act without their approval.

It was well past three o'clock when Samuel Parker finally appeared in the throne room and announced the Queen. She was flushed, but her voice was soft and steady as she spoke, first from the dais and then from the balcony, to her waiting people.

"Princes, Nobles, and Representatives," she said in Hawaiian, "I have listened to the thousands of voices of my people to grant their request. . . . I was ready and expected to proclaim the new constitution today, as a suitable occasion for it. . . . But with deep regret I say that I have met with obstacles that prevent it. . . . I am obliged to postpone the granting of the constitution until another day. . . . You have my love, and with sorrow I now dismiss you."⁵⁴

But that other day was not to come. On January 17, after seventy-two hours of intense, though subdued, turmoil, a small company of determined men proclaimed the abrogation of the monarchy and the formation of a

provisional government "to exist until terms of union with the United States of America have been negotiated and agreed upon."

The longest legislature had become the monarchy's last.

NOTES

¹ *Daily Bulletin*, May 28, 1892; *Daily Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, May 29, 1892.

² Robert C. Lydecker, *Roster Legislatures of Hawaii, 1841-1918* (Honolulu, 1918), pp. 180-181.

³ Constitution of July 6, 1887, Articles 44, 45, 56, 59, 60, 61.

⁴ *Advertiser*, July 25, 1891.

⁵ *Advertiser*, Sept. 30, 1891; Oct. 30 and 31, 1891; Nov. 14 and 27, 1891.

⁶ *Advertiser*, Jan. 11, 1892.

⁷ *Advertiser*, Dec. 16, 1892.

⁸ Lorrin A. Thurston, letter to the *Advertiser*, published Jan. 11, 1892.

⁹ *Advertiser*, Jan. 13, 1892.

¹⁰ Liliuokalani's diary, Jan. 21, 1892.

¹¹ *Advertiser*, Feb. 10, 1892.

¹² *Advertiser*, Feb. 6, 1892.

¹³ *Bulletin*, Mar. 30, 1892; *Advertiser*, Apr. 22, 1892.

¹⁴ *Advertiser*, May 6, 1892.

¹⁵ *Bulletin*, May 30, 1892, detailed report of testimony offered in court on May 29.

¹⁶ *Advertiser*, June 2, 1892, detailed report of testimony given on May 29 and June 1.

¹⁷ Testimony of Volney V. Ashford in U.S. Department of State, *Papers Relating to the Mission of James H. Blount, United States Commissioner to the Hawaiian Islands*, 1893.

¹⁸ Liliuokalani's diary, June 10, 1892.

¹⁹ *Bulletin*, June 25, 1892.

²⁰ Lorrin A. Thurston, *Memoirs of the Hawaiian Revolution* (Honolulu, 1936), p. 232.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Julius W. Pratt, "The Hawaiian Revolution: A Reinterpretation," *Pacific Historical Review*, I (September, 1932), pp. 278-294.

²³ Thurston, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

²⁴ For Thurston's change of mind, see his letter to Archibald Hopkins, Dec. 14, 1892, in Thurston, *op. cit.*, pp. 235-240.

²⁵ Besides a great deal of rumor to this effect, there is an entry in Liliuokalani's diary, July 27, 1892, which reads, "Heard from N [Neumann] that when I signed Widemans [sic] com. [commission], Wilson will be dismissed—told him to tell their party one of the stipulations were that he should not be dismissed. . . . These were special stipulations made before I consented to appoint Wideman."

²⁶ Nawahi's "attempt, which is daily repeated, to draw the color line" is discussed in an editorial in the *Advertiser*, July 7, 1892. A mass meeting at which Nawahi spoke in opposition to Wilcox on the Pearl Harbor question is reported in the *Bulletin*, July 13, 1892.

²⁷ *Bulletin*, July 14, 1892.

²⁸ Quoted in *Advertiser*, July 20, 1892.

²⁹ Editorial, *Advertiser*, July 20, 1892.

³⁰ *Advertiser*, July 8, 1892.

³¹ *The Golden Era*, Sept. 1, 1892; Lottery Law, Section 3.

³² July 28, 1892.

³³ *Advertiser*, Oct. 13, 1892.

³⁴ Oct. 7, 1892.

³⁵ Bishop to G. D. Gilman, Oct. 19, 1892.

³⁶ *Advertiser*, Oct. 18, 1892.

³⁷ *Advertiser*, Nov. 2, 1892.

³⁸ Wodehouse to Lord Rosebery, Dispatch No. 20, Nov. 9, 1892.

³⁹ Editorial, *Advertiser*, Nov. 9, 1892.

⁴⁰ *Bulletin*, Nov. 9, 1892.

⁴¹ Editorial, *Advertiser*, Nov. 10, 1892.

⁴² Dec. 28, 1892.

⁴³ Defeated, 31 to 14, Dec. 16, 1892.

⁴⁴ *Advertiser*, Oct. 18, 1892.

⁴⁵ Bishop to Gilman, Jan. 13, 1893.

⁴⁶ Bush's most pointed remarks on this subject came in the course of the debate on the Lottery Bill, Jan. 11: "You [the Reformers] have allowed opium, the curse of Asia, to come into this country. You all voted for it. Opium is a worse curse than the Lottery." Quoted in *Advertiser*, Jan. 12, 1893.

⁴⁷ Editorial, Jan. 4, 1893.

⁴⁸ Letter signed "Civis," *Advertiser*, Jan. 27, 1893.

⁴⁹ *The Real Hawaii, Its History and Present Condition, Including the True Story of the Revolution* (New York, 1899), pp. 60-64.

⁵⁰ Affidavit of P. C. Jones, Dec. 5, 1893, one of a group of affidavits sent to Washington, D.C., to be placed before the U.S. Senate committee investigating the overthrow.

⁵¹ Affidavit of A. F. Judd, Dec. 4, 1893.

⁵² Jones, *loc. cit.*

⁵³ *Advertiser*, Jan. 13, 1893.

⁵⁴ W. D. Alexander, *History of the Later Years of the Hawaiian Monarchy and the Revolution of 1893* (Honolulu, 1896), pp. 34-35.

THE NORSE MIGRATION: NORWEGIAN LABOR IN HAWAII

by ELEANOR H. DAVIS*

Two small shiploads of Norwegians probably created the greatest uproar, nationally and internationally, in the shortest length of time, of any group of immigrants of similar size in Hawaii's history. There were strikes—probably the first in Hawaii—inflammatory articles in newspapers throughout America and Europe, threats of foreign warships—all brought about by some 600 Norwegians and Swedes.

As far back as 1853 eight Norwegians were listed in the Hawaiian census. But the group in question was of a later vintage. In the year 1880 what was known as the "America Fever" was rampant in Norway. The country was going through a period of depression, with much unemployment, and Norwegians by the thousands were flocking to the United States in response to promises of free land or jobs. However, some were unable to raise passage money, or unwilling to risk their savings on the gamble of life in a new country.

So, when an advertisement appeared in the Drammen, Norway, *News* of September 15, 1880, promising free passage to the South Sea paradise of Hawaii, in exchange for three years of work at a guaranteed wage, it fell on fertile ground. The fact that it was signed by Christian L'Orange, Agent for the Hawaiian Bureau of Immigration, made it even more inviting, for he was one of several from Drammen who had found success in the Sandwich Islands during the preceding quarter of a century.

The contracts he offered promised three years of work, ten hours a day in the sugar fields or twelve hours in the mills. The wage was nine dollars a month for men twenty years or older, and four dollars and a half for women, those younger to be paid somewhat less. Parents could bring two children.

Transportation would be absolutely free, the Hawaiian sugar factoring agency, Castle and Cooke, paying all costs of passage for the men, and one-half those of women and of children between the ages of two and twelve; younger children traveled free. The agency would be repaid by the planters receiving workers, and the remaining costs of transportation paid by the Hawaiian government. Also provided were board, lodging, and medical care for everyone during the voyage, and during the three years of the labor contracts.

Captain L'Orange's agreement with the sugar planters and the Hawaiian

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government stipulated that he was to hire 400 adult workers, including no less than 35 to 40 women for each 100 men, that they should be of good character and suited to agricultural work.

But he was under much pressure from the planters to get workers to Hawaii as quickly as possible. The difficulty was that men with a liking for farm work preferred to go to the United States, with its promise of free land; in addition, most of the unemployment was among artisans and townspeople. So it was from these latter that Captain L'Orange got most of his emigrants. He tried to make certain that his recruits were men of good character by requiring written recommendations for all he hired; but the less desirable easily got around this by forging testimonials for each other. Only one out of four recruits was a woman, considerably below the stipulated proportion.

Strange things happened to the limitation of two children per family, with childless couples temporarily adopting those of friends as their own; in other cases parents openly listed as many as five offspring below the age of 12 and brought them all along.

Captain L'Orange worked with great speed and within a few weeks had assembled a company of about 630. Almost half of these—294—were unmarried men and boys over 12 years of age; there were 78 married couples—some married on board ship just before it left Drammen, 126 children, and 53 unmarried women and girls.

The first 400 emigrants set sail from Drammen on the little 846-ton bark *Beta* on October 27 for the long passage through the North Sea, across the Atlantic, and around South America to Hawaii. It was a long and arduous voyage, with rough seas and heavy storms, in which many of the passengers lost their bedding overboard. The food consisted mostly of bread—hard as a brick and very dark—salt dried fish, barley, peas, flour, and now and then a little beef or pork. It is not surprising that nine children died from seasickness, malnutrition, or accident; one young couple lost both little sons within two weeks of each other. And in the midst of all this five babies were born.

Four rugged months after leaving Drammen the *Beta* arrived in Hawaii and let down its anchor at Maalaea Bay on the island of Maui. And in spite of the severities of the voyage the Board of Health physician who came on board to examine the passengers, most of them young and vigorous people between the ages of 18 and 30, declared this to be the healthiest company of men, women, and children he had ever seen.

The workers were destined for a variety of plantations on both Maui and Hawaii. Some were obviously more desirable than others; so, while the ship was still anchored at Maalaea, each was assigned a number and the division among the planters made by a chance drawing. Husbands, wives, and younger

children remained together, but in some cases older working members of the same family were divided. Those destined for Hawaii remained on board, to be trans-shipped later in the week.

The 228 adults and their children assigned to Maui were rowed ashore in whaleboats and then transferred to the rough, springless oxcarts which were to carry them to their destinations.

Most of the newcomers had been assigned to plantations in Paia, Hamakua, or Haiku, for which Castle and Cooke were agents, though a few went to private individuals or independent planters such as the Bailey Plantation at Wailuku.

The wide, flat plain of central Maui over which these new arrivals jolted on their way to their various destinations appeared vastly different from today. The new Spreckels and Hamakua Ditches had been in operation for only a few years, and instead of cutting a swathe through rich fields of green cane or silvery tassels, parts of the track passed through a sandy waste much like that seen by Isabella Bird six years earlier and of which she wrote that it was "a Sahara in miniature, a dreary expanse of sand and shifting sandhills, with a rare, dismal growth of thornless thistles and indigo. . . . Trackless, glaring, choking. . . . Sand, sand, sand!"

It was a dismal trip for the weary Scandinavians, and even at its end not all found houses waiting for them, for the *Beta* had arrived a month before it was expected, and these had to put up temporarily in warehouses. Others moved at once into simple, single walled houses of several small rooms, built of rough lumber, in which the side walls generally extended only up to the roof line, with the gables left open and the windows shuttered but without glass. Usually each family had a house, or half of a duplex, to itself, while single men shared a room, or a barrack.

Most of the 99 passengers who had gone on to the island of Hawaii were single men and boys, though there were a few married couples and children. They were assigned to the Hitchcock and Company plantation at Papaikou, near Hilo, where accommodations similar to those on Maui awaited them.

Meanwhile, the German bark *Musca* was enroute to Honolulu with 237 passengers, having sailed from Drammen on November 19, 1880. Just as the ship was about to leave, several dozen of those who had signed contracts refused to sail, and had to be replaced by others. Whatever their reasons, those who remained behind were perhaps the fortunate ones, for the voyage of the *Musca* turned out to be even more stormy and uncomfortable than that of the *Beta*.

It was in fact a nightmarish trip. The emigrants complained of bad food, bad water, and general bad treatment. When the ship stopped in Valparaiso,

one of the single men disappeared, whether by drowning or by desertion no one ever knew. Another passenger went insane. Tragedy struck again and again: 15 people died, 11 of them children from one to nine years old. In the midst of all the horror, two babies were born, both to mothers who lost children during this unhappy voyage—one of them mourning the deaths of three since leaving Norway.

When the ship arrived in Honolulu the emigrants filed bitter complaints of their treatment with their Consul, as had the *Beta* people, but the hardships they endured were declared unavoidable on so long a voyage.

Many of the *Musca* arrivals wished to remain on the island of Oahu, and both the Board of Immigration and Castle and Cooke were more than willing. In fact, the general wish was to scatter the new arrivals as widely as possible—and with good reason.

For unrest and discontent had begun to appear among the Scandinavians almost as soon as they arrived. At first it took the form of complaints about the quality of food provided as part of their pay. This may have been to some extent the natural result of unaccustomed eating habits and foods, and the scarcity of such staples as butter and potatoes; but the advice of the agency to one plantation owner, not to spoil the newcomers by feeding them "too high" or in large variety since they were now habituated to meagre shipboard fare, and later complaints about their large appetites, leads one to suspect that the immigrants' complaints were not in all cases unjustified.

Another difficulty arose from the fact that according to the Norwegian interpretation "lodgings" to be provided included bedding; some planters disagreed, and since many of the travelers had lost theirs overboard enroute, there was much unhappiness until the employers reversed themselves.

A much more serious problem came to light when it was discovered that the contracts in Norwegian signed by the laborers differed in one important aspect from the English translation signed by the planters. The former agreed to provide food not only for laborers and their children, but also for wives, whether they worked or not. The English version specifically agreed to provide only for wives who worked.

The flimsy houses disturbed others, even though they were assured this was a health measure, to secure the ventilation so essential in the tropics—probably not too convincing an argument to those sent to such areas as Haiku, Makawao, and Papaikou, often cold and damp in winter and early spring, and no doubt especially so in the unusually wet February of 1881.

The men who worked in the fields complained bitterly of overly harsh and overbearing foremen, of unreasonable deductions from their wages for tardiness or other faults. Those who had skills resented being tied to contracts of

nine dollars a month, even though perquisites for themselves and their families brought the pay of at least some of the married men up to \$25—privately employed artisans could earn \$60 to \$100 much more pleasantly than in the heat of the fields or in the mills. Others listened longingly to tales of fabulous California wages, so tantalizingly close at hand after the long voyage already endured.

The conditions of contract labor in Hawaii had in the past, and would in the future, cause resentment among laborers of many national origins, but in no case so quickly or effectively as in the case of the Scandinavians. These people were accustomed to group action, as an organized labor movement was already well under way in Norway. At first they tried by legal methods to correct what they felt to be injustices. They appeared in small groups at the courts to complain, but being uninformed as to the proper formalities found themselves charged with illegal behavior, or rioting, for having left work without permission. They were severely penalized by loss of pay, or imprisonment—in some cases both. Others tried to run away, and some succeeded in boarding passing vessels, and working or paying their way to the United States or elsewhere.

Still others determined to force their employers to release them from their contracts. As a result, what is probably one of the earliest Hawaiian strikes on record took place at the Alexander and Baldwin Plantation on Maui, on October 1, 1881; 42 Norwegians struck, refusing to serve any longer under their contracts. But the Deputy Sheriff sent to the neighboring plantations for help, and after 18 of the men were sentenced to prison, the rest returned to work.

There were occasional troubles at various plantations on the island of Hawaii employing Scandinavians, but most constantly of all at Papaikou. Here there was continual unrest about food, subtractions from pay, harsh treatment, and other matters, expressed in the form of sit-down strikes, complaints at the courts and to the Consul at Honolulu, insubordination, letters of grievance to friends and to the newspapers in Norway and the United States. In October, 1881, at almost the time of the Alexander and Baldwin trouble, the civil authorities in Hilo ordered 57 workers to jail, only to find to their embarrassment that it could not hold that many.

Both the Consul for Norway and Sweden, and special investigators appointed by the Bureau of Immigration, traveled to Maui and Hawaii to look into these difficulties. But, though they announced that the laborers had no grounds for complaint, dissatisfaction continued. The Scandinavians were prolific letter-writers, both to families and friends at home, and to newspapers in Norway and in the United States. By this means they spread abroad their

complaints, about the contracts, the lack of help from their Consul, and the inadequacy of the laws of Hawaii to give them the protection and redress they felt they deserved.

In Norway, there was great excitement; editors and public meetings denounced their government for not helping its citizens, and there was a demand that investigators backed by warships be sent to the Sandwich Islands. The Hawaiian Consul to Sweden and Norway and the Foreign Minister in Honolulu exchanged agitated letters about the situation.

In America, many newspapers were happy to print material about Hawaiian "slavery" and "serfdom" for the time was approaching to renew the Reciprocity Treaty. Southern planters as well as refiners in New York and California hoped to see it cancelled, for the Hawaiian sugar boom was a detriment to their business. Such tales made an admirable emotional weapon to build up hostility towards the Hawaiian sugar industry and hence towards the Reciprocity Treaty itself.

Finally, only 10 months after the arrival of the *Musca*, the King of Sweden and Norway appointed a diplomatic representative, Anton Grip, Secretary of the Legation at Vienna, to go to Hawaii to look into matters. By the time he arrived in Honolulu on October 1, 1882, just a year after the first strikes, much had been done by the planters themselves to ease things. Many had agreed to provide board for non-working wives, and to substitute money for food when it was so desired. Many skilled laborers had been promoted to better paying and more suitable jobs, and women released from the fields for domestic work. Many of the malcontents had left the plantations, either by repaying their passage money or by absconding.

But on Hawaii trouble still continued. Mr. Grip's first plantation visit, some ten days after arrival, was to that island, and he arrived in Hilo to be met by the news that 50 of Papaikou's 60 Norwegians refused to work, and since the local jail was too small to hold them, they must be sent to Honolulu.

Mr. Grip spent ten weeks in the Hawaiian Kingdom. During that time he visited almost every plantation employing Swedes and Norwegians, observing their living conditions and work situations, and interviewing more than 250 of them individually. In addition he talked to government officials, physicians, planters, and others, in any way involved with the immigrants and their problems.

On one count only did he find the complaints of the immigrants justified: since the authorized agent of the Bureau of Immigration, Captain L'Orange, had signed the Norwegian version of the contracts promising food for the wives of all, whether they worked or not, the Bureau was responsible for repaying to them any money that had been withheld, a sum amounting to

approximately \$1,200. Even though he admitted the faults of the contracts, Mr. Grip considered them agreements voluntarily entered into, to which the workers must adhere. The many attacks on the Consul for Sweden and Norway for failing in his duty had a purpose beyond that of sympathy for the immigrants. In his opinion, they had their source in persons trying to undermine him in an effort to obtain his position for themselves. A large part of the trouble lay in the fact that the men brought from Norway had been carelessly selected, most of them totally inexperienced in field labor, and some simply lazy troublemakers. And in most cases the motivating force for trouble lay in the laborers' urgent wish to be freed from the contracts to earn more money. So, except for the \$1,200 paid to the non-working wives, Mr. Grip's visit and report was a great disappointment to the immigrants.

There are, however, other probably contributory causes to this unhappy episode—the newcomers' ignorance of American and English legal forms, on which the Hawaiian system was based, and of the English and Hawaiian languages; a lack of competent interpreters; a certain inflexibility and close calculation on the part of some planters in their relations with the laborers, and a lack of understanding of the nature of these independent Scandinavians, so different in their reactions from the more docile Chinese and South Sea Islanders who had previously formed most of the labor force.

As a result of Mr. Grip's efforts, the contract time of some of the laborers was much shortened. Many left the Islands after their contracts were completed, and those who remained in most cases advanced quickly out of the ranks of common labor. Today their children and grandchildren are respected members of the community, and many have achieved outstanding success in business and the professions.

There were two results of the unrest of these unruly Scandinavians: an Inspector-General was appointed by the Hawaiian government to look after the needs, and protect the rights, of all contract laborers. And, except for several shipments of Germans, brought in largely for Lihue Plantation on Kauai, there were no more mass importations of North Europeans.

Henceforth the Azores, Japan, and the Philippines became the major sources for labor. And though the hope for a cheap and docile permanent labor force was doomed to eventual disappointment, the racial, social, and economic pattern of Hawaii was set for many decades to come.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

This paper is based largely on original sources, among them documents to be found in the Public Archives of Hawaii, the files of Castle and Cooke, Ltd., accounts in the contemporary newspapers of Norway, the Hawaiian

Kingdom, the United States, and personal reminiscences of various people resident in Hawaii. Also helpful were the following:

Alexander, William de Witt. "History of Immigration to Hawaii: An Interesting Treatise Prepared and Read before the June (1895) Meeting of the Social Science Club," *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual*. 1896. pp. 114-125.

Board of Immigration Report for Biennial Period Ending March 31, 1882, to the Minister of the Interior. Honolulu, 1882.

Coman, Katharine. *The History of Contract Labor in the Hawaiian Islands*. (Publications of the American Economic Association, 3rd Ser., IV, No. 3) New York, Macmillan, 1903.

Grip, Johan Anron Wolff. "The Condition of the Swedish and Norwegian Laborers on the Hawaiian Islands. A Report by Mr. A. Grip to the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Stockholm," *Honolulu Almanac and Directory*, 1884, pp. 41-55.

Report of the President of the Bureau of Immigration to the Legislative Assembly of 1884. Honolulu, 1884.

Report of the President of the Bureau of Immigration to the Legislative Assembly of 1886. Honolulu, 1886.

Semmingsen, Ingrid. *Veien mot Vest*, Vol. II, Oslo H. Aschegoug, 1950.

MINUTES OF THE 71ST ANNUAL MEETING

January 24, 1963

The annual meeting was held at the Mission-Historical Library on the evening of January 24, 1963. President Harold Kent presided. The minutes were approved as printed in the annual report. Mrs. Lela Brewer, librarian, gave a summary of her annual report. President Kent gave his report and a short summary of the Treasurer's report.

Mr. Gordon Smith, Nominating Committee chairman, presented the following nominations:

President—Mr. Harold W. Kent

Trustees for one year—Mrs. Margaret Kai

Mr. Curtis Cluff, Jr.

Trustees for four years—Mr. Kaupena Wong

Mr. Edward Joesting

It was moved and carried to have the Secretary cast a unanimous ballot.

The president presented Mr. Russell Apple, Superintendent of the City of Refuge National Historical Park, who gave a talk entitled, "Stepping Stones to Kerb Stones."

Following the program, a sale of extra copies of Society publications was held. Refreshments were served.

Respectfully submitted,
(Miss) AGNES C. CONRAD
Recording Secretary

MEETING OF APRIL 12, 1962

The Hawaiian Historical Society held a general meeting on Thursday evening, April 12, 1962, at the Mission Historical Library. The president, Harold Kent, presided.

The winners of the high school essay contest were announced and \$25.00 checks and certificates were presented to them. The winners were: Preston Hoover, Sandra Kraynik and Anne Tsutomi of Leilehua High School and Barbara Knott of St. Francis Convent.

The following resolution was presented by the secretary and unanimously adopted. A copy will be presented to Mrs. Handy.

"WHEREAS, on the 28th of February 1962, Willowdean C. Handy retired as librarian, corresponding secretary, assistant treasurer, and Kuhina Nui of the Hawaiian Historical Society after having given unselfish and

devoted service in these positions for twelve years, working many hours beyond those required of her, and

WHEREAS, during this period the membership of the society has grown from 265 to 600 members, and the library collection and the use of the library has steadily increased, and

WHEREAS, she has cheerfully made available to all researchers her extensive knowledge of Hawaiian and Pacific history and culture, whether requested in person or by mail.

THEREFORE, be it resolved by the members of the Hawaiian Historical Society, meeting on April 12, 1962 that this Society does express its appreciation to Willowdean C. Handy for her outstanding service to the Society, extend its thanks to her for a job well done, and wish her many pleasant and profitable years of retirement."

Mrs. Lela Brewer, program chairman, introduced Miss Albertine Loomis who read a paper entitled "The Longest Legislature," a review of the 1892 legislative session.

Following the program, refreshments were served.

Respectfully submitted,
AGNES C. CONRAD
Recording Secretary

MEETING OF OCTOBER 4, 1962

The Hawaiian Historical Society held a general meeting on Thursday evening, October 4, 1962. Mrs. Lela Brewer, program chairman, introduced Mrs. Eleanor Davis, who spoke on "The Norse Migration." General discussion was held on the topic with contributions from members of the audience. Following the program refreshments were served.

Respectfully submitted,
AGNES C. CONRAD
Recording Secretary

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

TO THE MEMBERS OF

THE HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY:

It is my pleasure to submit herewith the Seventy-first Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society. It has been a year of great interest with many changes and improvements—and also problems.

Membership

The life membership drive as stimulated by the thoughtfulness of Trustee J. C. Earle, brought us eighty-five members. We now have a total of one hundred thirty-one life members and six hundred fifty-eight members in general. The life membership fees have been placed in a capital account of which only the income may be used. Each life member was presented with a copy of the three-volume "Memoirs of the Hawaiian Revolution," by Lorrin A. Thurston and Sanford B. Dole.

Program

The programs at the open meetings of the Society have brought such people to us as Albertine Loomis, speaking on "The Longest Legislature," and Eleanor Davis, with the subject, "The Norse Migration: Norwegian Labor in Hawaii." It was the privilege of your president to address the annual meeting of the Society on the subject of, "Charles Reed Bishop, Man of Hawaii."

Essay Contest

Our essay contest was reasonably successful. It has seemed sufficiently so to justify a second venture. Albertine Loomis is Chairman of the second annual contest, and we anticipate a greatly improved return from among the high school student researchists working on Hawaiian history projects.

Publications

On the publications side, we have incorporated Albertine Lomis' "The Longest Legislature" manuscript in the Annual Report for 1962. The paper on the Norse Migration by Eleanor Davis is also included.

A proposal to publish the Journal of William Ellis has been entertained but will be delayed. A question has been raised regarding publication of a hitherto unknown Baldwin journal, and Liholiho and Lot journals. Progress as appropriate will be reported.

The Society joined the Social Science Association in sponsoring "A Century of Social Thinking in Hawaii," by Stanley Porteus. This is a resumé and summary of the some 1,800 essays presented over the past seventy-five years by members of this ancient Society.

Personnel

In the field of personnel, we note with pride the granting of an honorary life membership to Mrs. Willowdean Handy. Mrs. Lela R. Brewer, formerly with The Kamehameha Schools Preparatory Department, was appointed Librarian in place of Mrs. Handy. Both Mrs. Brewer and the Registrar-Clerk-Treasurer of the Society, Mrs. Helen Yonge Lind, have performed far beyond the call of duty in their work for the Society. The warm commendation of the Society is due them.

Future Needs

As for the future, I think of two things. One is a recent agreement among the Trustees of the Society that the full needs manpower-wise, of our Society, require a full-time Librarian and a full-time Secretary-Clerk. Obviously the present available income of the Society cannot match the dollar requirement of that pattern. A study of a solution to that needs to be made in 1963.

The other major problem that faces us is the matter of buildings and facilities. Our good host, the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, is considering an enlargement of these quarters. We should be in close communication with our good neighbors to see how we best can fit in with their plans and still maintain the services that we can so effectively and helpfully supply.

Conclusion

I think 1962 has been a good year for the Society. It has a genuine mission in this community and one which can be greatly enhanced as time goes on. I am grateful for the opportunity to have been of some small service in this 1962 year.

Respectfully submitted,
HAROLD W. KENT
President

January 24, 1963.

REPORT OF THE AUDITOR

TO THE OFFICERS AND TRUSTEES OF
THE HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY:

In accordance with your request, I have examined documentary evidence of the transactions in 1962 for the Hawaiian Historical Society, and representations of the assets and liabilities as of the calendar year-end. The Statement of Financial Condition at December 31, 1962, and the Statement of Income and Expense for the year then ended, which were prepared by me from such data and from the books of account without other audit, are submitted herewith. In that my engagement was not intended to include an independent verifica-

tion of the separate items reported, no opinion as to the fairness of such representations can be expressed by me at this time.

In terms of financial activity, the year under review has been particularly notable for the great increase in life memberships and the establishment of the first increment of the Hawaiian Historical Society Endowment Fund in an amount equal to \$100 per living life member. There were also, during the year, material increases in regular and sustaining membership dues received, although receipts from the contributing type of membership fell off slightly.

Thanking you for the privilege and pleasure of serving you again I remain

Very truly yours.

VIVIEN K. GILBERT, C.P.A.

January 23, 1963

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

STATEMENT OF FINANCIAL CONDITION

December 31, 1962
(prepared without audit)

VIVIEN K. GILBERT
Certified Public Accountant
P. O. Box 3294
Honolulu 1, Hawaii

ASSETS

Current Assets:			
Cash on hand and in checking account.....	\$	385.04	
First Federal Savings & Loan Association.....		15,934.43	\$16,319.47
Investments at market, December 31, 1962.....			5,833.13
Books and pamphlets for resale.....			8,681.40
Total current assets.....			<u>\$30,834.00</u>
Capital Assets:			
Library of books and pamphlets at cost, including evaluated donations of same and purchases with Special Funds.....	\$	9,111.87	
Pictures, photographs and maps*.....		1,995.00	
Furnishings and equipment, less depreciation.....		345.57	
Building (1/2 interest), less depreciation.....		5,600.00	
Total capital assets.....			<u>\$17,052.44</u>
TOTAL ASSETS.....			<u><u>\$47,886.44</u></u>

LIABILITIES, RESERVES & CAPITAL

Restricted Reserves:	12/31/61	Increase	Decrease	12/31/62
Microfilming.....	\$ 987.93	\$	\$ 218.18	\$ 769.75
Maude Jones Fund.....	15.64	.....	.....	15.64
S. N. & M. Castle Fund.....	345.95	.....	26.51	319.44
Publications & Operations...	2,960.00	.....	1,425.40	1,534.60
Social Science Project.....	3,250.00	500.00	3,750.00	.....
Meiric Dutton Memorial....	190.00	.....	.....	190.00
J. Waterhouse Fund.....	5.00	.....	.....	5.00
Endowment Fund.....	.....	13,100.00	.....	13,100.00
	<u>\$7,754.52</u>	<u>\$13,600.00</u>	<u>\$5,420.09</u>	<u>\$15,934.43</u>
Capital:				
Balance beginning of year.....				\$34,227.45
Increase from Special Funds Used.....				951.91
Increase for Inventory Gain.....				874.97
Decrease in Market Value of Investments.....				(32.37)
Decrease to Special Funds (transfer).....				(13,100.00)
				<u>\$22,921.96</u>
Net Income from Operations in 1962.....				9,030.05
TOTAL LIABILITIES, RESERVES & CAPITAL.....				<u><u>\$31,952.01</u></u>
				<u><u>\$47,886.44</u></u>

* Not including portrait of Chief Justice Albert Francis Judd received in December, 1961, which has not been evaluated for HHS.

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY
STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENSE
for the 12 months ending December 31, 1962
(prepared without audit)

VIVIEN K. GILBERT
Certified Public Accountant
P. O. Box 3294
Honolulu 1, Hawaii

INCOME:

Membership dues received.....		\$11,370.00	
Contributions (other than to Special Funds):			
Annie H. Parke Estate.....	\$ 464.09		
Dole Royalty.....	30.00		
G. N. Wilcox Trust.....	500.00		
Miscellaneous.....	271.00	\$ 1,265.09	
Dividend and interest income.....		745.88	
Sales of books & publications.....			
less estimated cost of sales.....		125.44	13,506.41
Non-capital utilization of Special Funds contributed			<u>3,750.00</u>
Available resources.....			\$17,256.41

EXPENSE:

Membership Program Expense:			
Printing annual report, less pro-rata to inventory.	\$ 439.65		
Library & Office Supplies & Expense.....	271.89		
Essay Contest.....	114.49		
Members' meetings.....	99.64	\$ 925.67	
Recurrent Administrative Expense:			
Salaries & Payroll taxes.....	\$2,174.65		
Building maintenance, depreciation of			
building, furniture, etc.....	849.75		
Accounting & auditing.....	341.40		
Telephone.....	157.84		
Dues and subscriptions.....	27.05	\$ 3,550.69	
Applied resources.....		\$ 4,476.36	
Funded projects.....		3,750.00	\$ 8,226.36
Net income (to Capital Account).....			<u>\$ 9,030.05</u>

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

During 1962, many worthwhile publications have come to the Society from authors and presses as gifts to the library:

- O Mundo que os Portugueses by Armando de Aguiar
- The Portuguese Language Press in Hawaii by Edgar C. Knowlton
- Colombo Plan Story 1951-1961 by Colombo Plan Bureau
- Construction Preview 1962 by Pacific Builders
- Capital in Hawaiian Sugar by J. A. Mollett
- Religion in Hawaii by Rev. John Field Mulholland
- Yearbook 1961, Commonwealth of Australia
- Uncle George of Kilauea by Harry Miller Blickhalm
- Portion of the MS Log of HMS Dolphin (concerning Polynesia) from HSPA
- Directory of the Public Aquaria of the World by Marian Omura and Spencer Tinker
- Abridged Report: The Kamehameha Schools Planning by Booz, Allen and Hamilton
- Articles by Merze Tate:
 - The Australian Monroe Doctrine
 - The Sandwich Island Missionaries Create a Literature
 - British Opposition to the Cession of Pearl Harbor
 - The Sandwich Island Missionaries Train a Native Pastorate
 - The Early Political Influence of the Sandwich Island Missionaries
 - Hawaii's Early Interest in Polynesia
 - The Sandwich Island Missionaries Lay the Foundation for a System of Public Instruction in Hawaii
 - Slavery and Racism as Deterrents to the Annexation of Hawaii, 1854-1855
- The Art of Flower Arrangement in Hawaii by Caroline E. Peterson and Kenneth Kingrey
- Oahu Railway and Land Company by Fred A. Stindt
- The Cost of Freedom by Frederick L. Rath, Jr.
- A Look at Ourselves by the American Association for State and Local History
- New Zealand Official Yearbook 1962
- China Yearbook 1961-1962 by Cheng Chen
- An Album of Likenesses—Bernice Pauahi Bishop and Charles Reed Bishop by Harold W. Kent
- Philosophy and Culture—East and West by Charles A. Moore, ed.

Founders Day Book—The Kamehameha Schools 1962 by H. W. Kent, ed.

Gifts of publications and reports from local organizations and departments of Government formed a substantial part of our acquisitions. They came from the Department of Agriculture, Department of Economic Planning, Department of Education, Bank of Hawaii, First National Bank, Hawaiian Evangelical Association, University of Hawaii, Kamehameha Schools, Department of Health, Hawaii Sugar Planters Association, Honolulu Chamber of Commerce, the Downtown Improvement Association, the Hawaii Audubon Society, the Engineering Association, Leahi Hospital, and the Episcopal Church and Zen Buddhist.

Gifts from Mrs. Madeline Brewer Russel (granddaughter of Charles Brewer) included:

Volcanoes of the Hawaiian Islands by Wm. T. Brigham

Bibliography of the Hawaiian Islands by James F. Hunnewell

The Coral Reefs of the Hawaiian Islands by Alexander Agassiz

The Native Hawaiian of Yesterday and Today by Alexander S. Twombly

Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1882 by T. G. Thrum, compiler and ed.

The Polynesian May 18, 1844–May 17, 1845

Gifts from the Meiric Dutton Estate:

The Golden Cloak by Antoinette Withington

Journal of Voyages and Travels 1821–1829 Vol. 1 by D. Tyerman and George Bennett

Hawaii's Harvest—Plantation Sketches by Jared G. Smith

Princess Kaiulani by Viola K. Rivenburgh

The Historical Background for the Woman's Board of Missions for the Pacific Islands by Mary Atherton Richards

The Hawaiian Reciprocity Treaty—1872 by John H. Mitchell

An Island Kingdom Passes by Kathleen Mellen

First Book in Hawaiian by Henry P. Judd, ed.

Historic Truths from the Independent

Kon-Tiki by Thor Heyerdahl

B. P. Bishop Museum Bulletin No. 7—Polynesian Decorative Designs

2 vols. Forander Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folklore Memoirs of B. P. Bishop Museum Vol. VI, No. 3; Vol. V, Part III.

No. 17–34 of the Published Accounts of Voyage to the Hawaiian Islands in 1865 by James L. Wisely

Naturalist's South Pacific Expedition—Fiji by Otto Degener

The Pacific Era by William W. Davenport, ed.

Pioneer Presses of Hawaii by A. Grove Day

Archaeology of Kauai—B. P. Bishop Museum Bull. No. 80 by William Brigham

Hawaii Restless Rampart by Joseph Barber, Jr.

Additional bulletins and M/S material not yet catalogued

Gifts from Mrs. John Caldwell in memory of Christopher and Mary Lew:
Book of Photographs

The Cocoa Palm and other Songs for Children by Mary Dillingham Frear

Gift from John Wright:

Jane's Fighting Ships 1941—Francis E. McMurtie, ed.

Gift from Mrs. Helen Lind:

When You Go to Tonga by Rev. Father Edward Tromblay

Mr. E. Curtis Cluff, Jr. provided the library with file copies of The Paradise of the Pacific, The Beacon and Hawaii Business and Industry

Other gifts were 3 boxes of photographs from Ray Jerome Baker, a deck of Hawaiian Souvenir playing cards published in 1921 from Mrs. Mitchell in Australia, old photographs and clippings from Miss Todd, old photographs from Miss Titcomb.

The Castle Fund was drawn upon for purchases of books and for much needed binding. Purchases were the following:

Hawaii, an Informal History by Gerrit P. Judd IV

Music of Ancient Hawaii by Dorothy Kahananui

Hawaii Pono by Lawrence Fuchs

All about Hawaii 1962 by Douglas Boswell, editor.

Hawaiian Guidebook for Visitors by Elizabeth Cockett

Flower Leis of Hawaii by Dorothy and Bob Hargreaves

Birds of the National Parks in Hawaii by William Dunmire

Volcanoes of the National Parks in Hawaii by Gordon A. MacDonald

Exploring Nature in Hawaii by Sister Mary Lawrence

Bryan's Sectional Map of Honolulu and the Hawaiian Islands by E. H.

Bryan, Jr.

Social Process—Hawaiian Social Science Laboratory by Univ. of Hawaii

The History of Prince Lee Boo by Capt. Wilson

Norwegian Labor in Hawaii—The Norse Immigrants by Eleanor and Carl Davis

The Missionary Whaleship by Thomas French

Official Publications of the Territory of Hawaii 1900-1959

The Castle Fund was also drawn upon for some needed binding. Serials

bound included recent numbers of:

Bishop Museum Annual Reports of the Director 1953-1959

California Historical Quarterly 1961

Hawaii Industry and Business 1960-1961

Journal of the Polynesian Society 1960-1961

Oregon Historical Society Quarterly 1960-1961

Pacific Historical Review Quarterly 1961

Hawaii Annual Board of Health Reports 1950/1960

A copy of Marriage Records 1831-1838 was rebound

As soon as missing numbers of *Paradise of the Pacific* and certain other serials can be obtained these should be bound.

As usual there were many requests from elementary and intermediate schools for information about our state. It is interesting to note that the majority of requests from college students came from students who either grew up in Hawaii or who had lived here. This indicates the need for the Historical Society to form Junior Historicals or to work with the schools on state history. Research requests came from Canada and Australia as well as from various other states in our United States. The wide range of topics indicates the need for research to be done in many areas. Again the need for biographical material from our own members and from the older members in our community was indicated.

A need for subject indexing of the *Friend*, *Paradise of the Pacific* and other materials was very apparent. Miss Titcomb's index of *Thrum's* is invaluable but needs to be brought up to date. Since Mrs. Bickerton has not been able to paste and file our biographical clipping collection it has grown steadily further behind. Now that Mr. Kaihara is available for some cataloging that phase of the work is showing progress. Continuation cards for the serials is almost current. However, the making of analytic cards lags because of lack of time. If our Society is to progress as it should I cannot stress too strongly the need for a full time librarian with training.

Respectfully submitted,

LELA R. BREWER, *Librarian*

January 24, 1963

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